Exhibit #660

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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Phase IV

PANEL 4

OTHER CONSTRUCTION PHASE IMPACTS

WITNESSES:

1. Mr. Wayne B. Trusty

   "Policies Plans and Potential Impacts"

2. Dr. Charles Hobart

   "Sociological Aspects of Construction"

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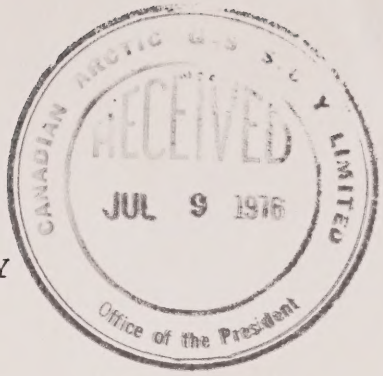

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TAB

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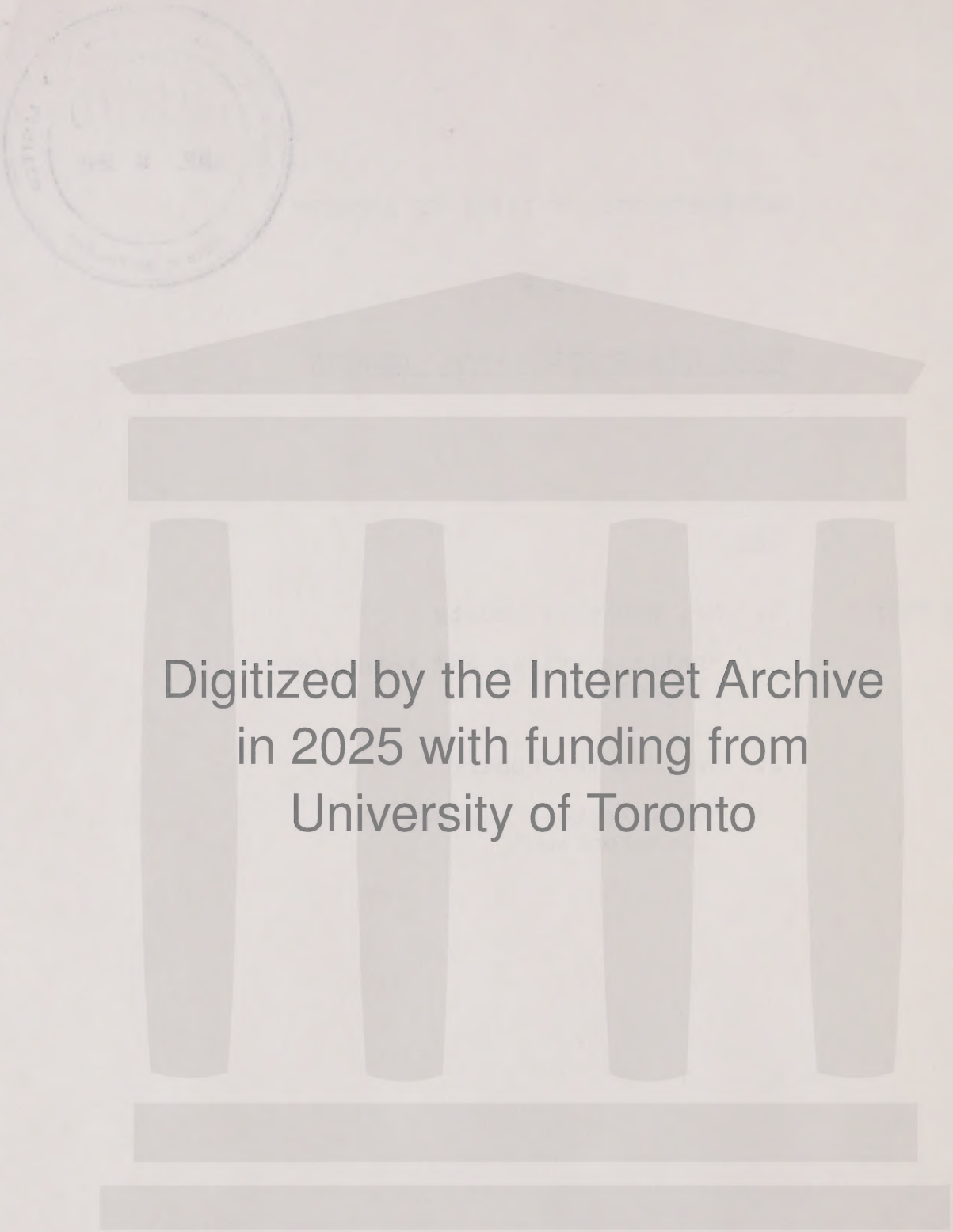
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NOTE:

The evidence of Mr. Trusty will be distributed at a later date.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION

by

CHARLES W. HOBART

PRESENTED TO

MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

JULY, 1976

As Mr. Trusty noted in his introductory testimony, Arctic Gas asked me to attempt to answer a number of questions relevant to the development of the proposed pipeline. Since these covered areas that are important to this Inquiry, I would like to briefly review those questions, and my responses, taking into account further considerations that have since become relevant.

1. I was asked to comment on the validity of the argument that in the study region the provision of stable employment opportunities should be considered a top priority, and further, that the alleviation of poverty through the provision of stable employment opportunities and increased wage income will have a positive effect with respect to the incidence of anti-social behavior.

I replied that I felt both of these statements were valid. I am aware that in taking this position I am in contradiction with some of the testimony of Dr. Michael Asch before this Commission a month or more ago. This is due, at least in part to differences in disciplinary perspective -- anthropologists are generally more interested in traditional society, and in the traditional aspects of society, while sociologists are generally more interested in contemporary society, and the contemporary adaptations of society. I elaborated my arguments in detail during my previous appearance before this Commission.

Further I emphasized, as I did before this Commission

in Inuvik that most of the important influences along the Mackenzie River for at least the last 25 years, with the pipeline proposal and its consequences as the major exceptions, have had the effect of socializing the native peoples away from the traditional life style and toward a wage economy based life style. These influences include the collapse of the fur market, the establishment of community based schools and the curriculum and staffing of those schools, the building of Inuvik, the low cost housing program and the resulting depopulation of the land, the impact of oil exploration, etc. The widespread impact of these changes was well reflected, I think, in the many quotations I read towards the end of my overview statement, from many studies conducted during the 1960's which testified to the widespread preference for wage over trapping employment. These trends have recently been massively underscored by the impact of television, and the example of behaviors of the large number of Southern Canadian workers who have gone North within the last five years in connection with the exploration boom. Should the widely anticipated promise of richly increased stable employment opportunities for native people in this region fail to materialize or should the boom fizzle into a slump, the aversive results would certainly be widespread. Dr. Watkins, in his testimony before this Commission, emphasized that the economic consequences of marginality include welfare which "demoralizes and degrades people", and that "socially it manifests itself in alcoholism, family breakdown, and suicide".

The failure to materialize the promises which were implicit in the developments of the last 15 years, would certainly increase feelings of marginality and redundancy. This would be especially true among the largest component of the population, those born since 1955 and especially since 1960, whose lifelong experience typically prepares them only to earn their living by entering the wage and salary earning labor force. Thus frustration, bitterness, increased welfareism, despondency and demoralization, increased alcoholism, and family breakdown, as Dr. Watkins suggested, and certainly increased violence as well, would occur as the opportunities which natives had been trained for, and encouraged to anticipate, faded away.

Incidentally, it is relevant to the discussion of welfare, that Balikci points out for the people of Old Crow that receiving relief promotes feelings of ethnic inferiority, according to some of his informants. The reason, Balikci suggests, is that "in traditional times, gift giving within the context of the potlatch and moose feast was an antagonistic act, aiming at diminishing the prestige of the gift receiver. Some aspects of this trait have persisted up to the present time and explain the ambivalence with which presents are sometimes received." (1963, pp. 106-107).

These considerations regarding the importance of dependable employment opportunities, are given added force by the fact that people never experience deprivation in absolute terms. What they experience is relative deprivation, relative

to some one or other comparison group. Very many of the people of the study region have acquired new comparison groups during the past 10 years as a result of the education curriculum, the impact of television, the clustering of previously scattered peoples in settlements, and increasingly frequent contacts with highly paid Southern workers. The result of these and related experiences, like the upgrading of stocks in the area's stores, and increased exposure to the full range of mass media, has been to dramatically increase the sense of relative deprivation of the native people in the area. This occurs because they have acquired new standards of comparison. The most dramatic example of this is found in Greenland during the past 12 to 15 years. The standard of living of the Greenlanders has increased very substantially during this period. But the standard of living of the Danes in Greenland is markedly higher, and they have increased in number very significantly during this period. The result is a great deal of dissatisfaction and bitterness directed against the Danes, which has taken violent expression at times.

So long as the confident expectation exists, that the positions and earnings enabling many native people to enjoy this newly viewed life style will become available, the potential for negative reaction because of relative deprivation will be held in check. But should this expectation fade, the potential for powerful and violent reaction will be massively increased precisely because of the frustrated expectations created as a result of the deepened sense of

deprivation, relative to whites.

To the further question as to whether the provision of stable employment opportunities and increased income will have a positive effect in reducing the incidence of anti-social behavior, the answer appears to be affirmative, in the long run. This is not to deny that there will be some, probably temporary, increase in alcoholism, and violence. But the main point is that the traditional social controls, have lost much of their effectiveness for the majority of native residents of the study area. These traditional controls were articulated with the semi-nomadic subsistence, sharing way of life during pre-contact and flourescent (trapping) times. They have not proved very adaptable to the more individualistic sedentary life of the settlement with its heavier dependence on wage work, in many cases, just as some of the traditional child-rearing procedures have not proved adaptive in this new context.

Over-use of alcohol and higher incidence of violence, et cetera, are prominent features of the community life which many native residents now experience. This has been a factor in communities for a long period of time, with detailed examples cited in the literature 15 and more years ago.

The lack of opportunities to experience employment demanding responsibility and commitment, to obtain the training that would lead directly into such employment, and to aspire toward such employment, tends to perpetuate anti-social patterns. Without more stable employment becoming

available, there are no opportunities for the structural and motivational reasons for such anti-social behaviors to change, nor are there generally effective mechanisms for reinforcing more socially constructive behavior. However, increased stable employment opportunities, with opportunities for training, upgrading, and advancement, would provide alternative motivations and reward alternative construction behaviors.

2. A second question was: What is the relationship between the quality of the physical environment and services -- e.g., improved quality of housing, recreation facilities, community facilities -- and various types of social habits such as alcoholism, violence, family breakdown, family cohesion, work habits, etc.?

I responded by suggesting to Arctic Gas that there was a danger in over-emphasizing the importance of improved facilities in reducing these undesirable behaviors. There are few, if any studies, which have been sufficiently comprehensive, and sufficiently carefully controlled to permit giving definitive answers to these questions. Human behavior is typically the result of multiple and interacting influences, and most of these multiple interacting influences have not yet been sorted out in widely researched populations, much less among Canadian Inuit, Indian, or Metis peoples.

Generally, however, it is the expectations, the frustrations, the reactions, the commitments and the effectiveness of systems of social control of people which are reflected

in the "social habits" listed above, rather than features of the physical environment. For example, research on the impact of Gulf Oil employment in Coppermine demonstrates generally a higher incidence of socially approved or constructive behavior among older workers, who usually live in more modest quarters, than among younger workers who live in more attractive quarters. A second examples relates to family breakdown. Family cohesion is in part the result of common background. In times of very rapid social change, and particularly where one party, say the husband, is more generally exposed to change than is the wife, but yet the wife has been exposed sufficiently that she does not acceed easily to his decisions, family strife and perhaps breakdown will tend to increase. As well, family discord increases where the traditional extended family and community social controls are weakened. Such conditions obviously exist in Northern centres where most of the population of the study area resides today. They also exist throughout Southern Canada, as the now rapidly rising divorce rates in every Canadian province attest.

However, there is no doubt that violence among northern native peoples is almost always a result of intoxication, and there is evidence that alcohol consumption is associated with the quality of housing and availability of recreational facilities. It is related to quality of housing in that it appears that cramped, over-crowded, inadequate housing often drives people, particularly those who have acquired expectations of more personal privacy, or privacy for shared peer

group interaction, out of the home (Stewart, 1961). The absence of "dry" gathering centres, like cafes, drop-in centres, recreational facilities, tends to result in people frequenting drinking establishments more often than they would otherwise. Thus it can be anticipated that more adequate housing and a wider range of recreation alternatives should tend to reduce drunkenness and violence. But this is based on the assumption that wider aspects of life, employment, felt deprivation, etc. remain unchanged.

Some further comments are warranted in regard to work habits. In terms of punctuality and absenteeism, cramped, over-crowded housing which makes it difficult to sleep, except when the entire household beds down, is undoubtedly associated with tardiness in reporting to work. This is particularly true during the spring and summer when 24 hour daylight or something approaching this is experienced, and the hours kept by native people in many areas become very irregular. The result is that if the worker attempts to go to bed before the rest of the household, his rest may be frequently disturbed. Williamson has an eloquent description of these problems among Inuit workers in the mine at Rankin Inlet in his book Eskimos Underground.

3. A third question related to the problem of racial/social tension associated with changing ethnic composition of the population in the N.W.T.

There can be little doubt that prejudice, discrimination,

and inter-ethnic tension exist in the North. Perhaps the main point to be made in this context, however, is that prejudice and discrimination seems to increase among whites at higher positions on the occupational ladder as I noted in Inuvik. This point has been documented by Parsons as long ago as 1967 for Inuvik (Parsons, 1970). The widespread existence of prejudice among teachers in Frobisher Bay, together with the very effective ways in which it is passed on to newly arrived teachers in the North has been described by Koster (1972).

Perhaps the most widely documented finding in the whole area of minority group relations is that prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior tend consistently to vary inversely with inter-ethnic interaction, where this contact is between status equals: the more contact there is, the less the prejudice and discrimination. This has been demonstrated in the course of racial integration of the U.S. Armed Forces, in inter-racial housing experiments in a wide variety of situations, and it has been demonstrated in three studies I have made involving Northern native and Southern Canadian white workers.

Here we found consistently, among white workers, a level of acceptance of native workers, realistic acknowledgement of their strengths and weaknesses, and understanding and acceptance of the "extenuating circumstances" associated with problem behavior which is rare among white collar and professional employees, in my experience. It should be empha-

sized that this was true despite the fact that problem behavior of the native workers, particularly their work absenteeism, is costly to their white work mates for it causes them the discomfort of having to work shorthanded, etc. Nevertheless, there was much evidence of genuine integration and acceptance of native workers in the work crew, and in the case of natives who showed themselves to be particularly good, or hard working, or dependable, there were generous expressions of praise and appreciation, voiced without qualification or prejudicial equivocation (Hobart, 1974). This basic pattern was found for whites working with natives in Gulf Oil Canada exploration activities, in Pan Arctic exploration activities, and in the Nortran Training program. But the relationships were deeper than that. Thus when a drilling crew homeward bound was forced to lay over in Inuvik, the white crew members combed the town of Inuvik searching for a missing native member, fearful that he might squander a cheque he had cashed, before he reached home.

Similarly, in the course of interviewing native workers (using native interviewers, of course) we found not only that they reported liking their white co-workers, and their foremen, but again there were indications of genuine involvement and affection for some of these same workers. Evidence includes the fact that Nortran native trainees said they talked over problems that bothered them more frequently with their (white) foremen than they did with their (typically native) supervisor counsellors.

The evidence in the case of the Nortran training program, is particularly dramatic because the potential for white prejudicial and/or discriminatory responses was so much higher. The situation involves the training of Northerners, almost exclusively natives, so that they can be employed in skilled capacities in the operation of a Northern gas pipeline if and when it has been built. Specifically the situation is that: (1) The Northerners are trained by the white workers using essentially an apprenticeship approach, (2) The Northerners are advanced just as rapidly as they prove themselves capable of mastering the training, with the result that they are advanced ahead of the white workers who provided them with the early stages of their training, (3) The Northerners are permanent employees of the companies which are training them and will be retained at the levels to which their accelerated advancement has brought them in the event that the pipeline is not built, and who in any case cannot be forced to return North if they do not want to, thus threatening the advancement of the white workers who trained them in the first place, (4) The Northern trainees receive special benefits, including company provided housing, longer holiday periods, travel subsidies during holidays, company financed upgrading training in technical or trade schools when this is needed in the opinion of the training officer, etc. It must be apparent from this listing that the white workers, who are called upon to provide the training to the natives, would have every reason to feel threatened by the advancement

advantages given to the natives, and to feel discriminated against by virtue of the special benefits which only the Northern trainees receive (Hobart, 1975).

Despite these circumstances, we found very little evidence of hostility, resentment, or jealousy on the part of white workers or foremen toward the trainees. However, we found a great deal of evidence of understanding, appreciation, acceptance, concern and helpfulness, both on and off the job. The most compelling indirect evidence that we found for this was the large number of suggestions for improvement of the program, suggestions oriented overwhelmingly toward making it better and more effective for the trainees, which we obtained from the co-workers. Notably, the latter contributed more suggestions than did any other category of person interviewed including the trainees themselves.

The interviews conducted with the trainees confirmed the above findings. With rare exceptions, they expressed liking and appreciation for their co-workers and their foremen, and with the training experiences that these workers were providing. The reasons that they gave for thinking about quitting or for actually quitting, with very few exceptions, related to the "pulls" of home up North -- loneliness, homesickness, relationship problems -- rather than the "push" of an unpleasant training situation or difficulties with work associates (Hobart, 1975).

Thus we conclude that it is likely that pipeline construction and operation would have a significant potential

for reducing inter-racial and inter-ethnic tension in the North, assuming that the potential for abuse or exploitation of natives by a minority of whites is effectively controlled. The impact of the pipeline would tend to reduce the dependency of native Northerns on professional caretakers (see Honigmann, 1953) if they can be assured of good access to resulting employment. It would reduce the discrepancies between the average earnings of whites and natives in the study area, thus reducing the sense of relative deprivation of the latter. And it would provide many contexts for whites and natives to work and interact together as equals, contents that are typically associated with the reduction of inter-ethnic misunderstanding and tension.

However, there are two further points that must be considered: (1) the extent to which the boom of short term pipeline construction opportunities may be followed by a "bust" in which native people cannot find the amount and level of employment to sustain the standard of living, as well as the feelings of involvement and participation as equals, that they acquire during the construction period, and (2) the effect of the influx of not only transient, but also of semi-permanent or permanent, white workers in the North which the pipeline and ancillary and derivative development activities would induce. Such an influx would no doubt stimulate powerful feelings of resentment and hostility in native people that they are being diluted, outnumbered on their home ground, and thus robbed of their power and their ability to control

their destiny, and the destinies and fortunes of their children and their descendants.

Mr. Trusty already dealt with the first point in his earlier testimony with respect to total employment that will be generated by the project. In view of the conservation multiplier effect assumptions used in those projections, the Northern training and Northern employment guidelines laid down by the Federal government, together with the training programs now underway and the high level of success of these training programs (attested to in the Nortran training program evaluation, Hobart, 1975) I concur with the applicants position that it is improbable that the construction boom will be followed by a deep slump, as far as the employment opportunities for native Northerners are concerned.

The overwhelming mass of construction workers will of course be white and since they will have been discouraged from taking their families North, most will no doubt move on elsewhere when the construction phase is over. The case of Greenland, concerning which I am rather well informed, shows that although there was the confident expectation of a slump after a development surge, the slump never occurred. The actual ramifications of the development plans in Greenland far exceeded the anticipated ramifications and provided a far greater continuing volume of employment than the planners had anticipated. And this occurred in a nation (Denmark) strongly committed to state regulation, planning, and planning implementation, particularly for Greenland.

The answer to the second point, relating to hostile native reactions to the influx of Southerners, is also quite simple it seems to me, although controversial at this juncture (though certainly not in the long run). It is probably true that pipeline construction and development in general will bring increased numbers of whites into the North. Natives in the past have typically tended to back away from competition with whites and to drop out rather than risk competition or confrontation, as the histories of Inuvik and other Northern communities having many non-natives show (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1970). We would expect this pattern to continue for awhile, although the emergence of a much better educated younger generation of natives who are showing talent for aggressive leadership, and even for confrontation tactics, may well change this significantly. Nevertheless we feel we must anticipate that the non-competition pattern will continue to be the norm. How may these feelings and tendencies be effectively counteracted?

The answer, I think, lies in insuring that native people have sufficient resources at their disposal at the time that pipeline construction activity begins in the North, to enable them to buy, develop, and control a substantial portion of the development "action" that will surely mushroom at that time. Thus they would not be bystanders condemned to the sidelines or to underling positions while whites plan, implement, and profit from the development opportunities and ventures that would be inevitable with a pipeline.

Native people can do all of these things themselves, and can enter into joint ventures with whites, where these are found to be mutually advantageous. These developments would go far to forestall feelings of powerlessness, exploitation, etc.

4. Another question: During the construction phase, what would be the likely impact of white transients of the type that is generally characterized as a "typical construction worker" on native people in the vicinity of the camp?

Earlier during the Phase Four Hearings this Commission heard some grim accounts of the impact of the construction of the Alaskan Highway on native people generally, and of the impact of construction of a somewhat distant mine on the community of Ross River in particular.

As Mr. Trusty has testified, Canadian Arctic Gas intends to enforce a policy of not allowing workers to leave camp during their off work hours, and it has established that it is legally possible to enforce such a policy. Assuming reasonable union cooperation, this would seem to largely solve the problem. However, the skeptical may well reply that "where there is a will, there is a way", and that thus construction workers will still find their way into the nearest community, and in brief, raise hell. A number of things should be said in assessing this possibility.

In the first place, it must be emphasized that the men will be working long hours a day, seven days a week at strenuous work during the cold part of the year. These work-

ing conditions, which are different in a number of significant respects from those described by Mr. Sharpe as obtaining at the mine of which he spoke, will pretty drastically reduce the number of would be "hell-raisers".

Of course the fact of the matter is that most of the men have no hell-raising ambitions anyway. In my observation around drilling camps and at Nannisivik mines, the vast majority of such workers have relatively little interest in involvement with native people. They typically want to do their job, rest and enjoy some recreation (play pingpong, pool, cards; watch television or a movie; read; sit around drinking coffee and talk) and get "out", home, as soon as they can. Those who are more boisterous and who do manage to slip out of camp will typically find, unlike those building the mine near Ross River, that there are no roads and thus no transportation to the nearest settlement.

Taking into account the vigilance of expanded RCMP policing and the willingness of management to apply the stern disciplinary measures to offenders which aroused white and native public opinion would demand, the prospects for successful control of this potentially very serious problem seem very good indeed.

5. During the construction phase, what problems might typically be encountered by native people living and working in the camps, in coping with the work activity and in their interaction with their white co-workers?

The answer to this question has been adumbrated in earlier testimony that I have given in Inuvik and here in Yellowknife. A bit of historical comment is in order. During the past 15 years there have been many examples of native people working alongside whites in industrial employment contexts: at the nickle mine in Rankin Inlet, the gold mines of Yellowknife, mines at Lynn Lake Manitoba, Rabbit Lake, Saskatchewan, construction and operation of the Great Slave Lake Railroad, on many seismic crews, and drilling rigs in the oil industry, the construction phase of the Nannisivik Mine at Strathcona Sound, and at many pipeline compressor stations in Alberta or Saskatchewan in connection with the Nortran training program. With very few exceptions in these situations the Northern natives proved themselves to be quick at catching on to the demands of the totally strange work situations in which they found themselves, and thereafter, cheerful and capable workers in the positions to which they were assigned.

The result was that they typically earned the recognition of management as productive workers, which subsequently usually sought to hire more, and the friendly respect of their fellow workers. While a certain amount of self-segregation of native and white workers in the dining halls and recreational activities of these work camps is found -- similar in every respect to that found between Francophone and Anglophone workers in the same work camp -- a considerable amount of friendly interaction tends commonly to develop as

well. It is particularly to be emphasized that these are typically equalitarian relationships that become established between white and native workers -- not the dominance submission relationships that are typical between white employers, RCMP officers, missionaries, government officers, etc., and their native workers, offenders, parisoners, clients, etc. Thus the impact of this egalitarian association with white fellow workers tends to show the native that he is "as good a man as" the white, that he can master the white's work, and to a certain extent, his world.

These are obviously very important things for native people to learn. In the very recent past native people have moved with surprising speed from the situation in which they were superior, the guardians of whites trying to survive in the North, to one in which they were dependent on whites, for housing, welfare money, health care, etc., etc. Their experience in wage employment shows them that they are as good as the next white, not just in their ability to master a job and work hard and well, but also in their ability to advance up the promotional ladder.

This is not to deny that they will encounter some prejudice and discrimination in such work situations. However such attitudes and behavior are quite subject to manipulation by orders and regulations, as the experience of the U.S. Army in desegregating itself demonstrates. Were he not employed, he would experience some prejudice and discrimination at the hands of some whites anyway, and in a context tending to

deepens his understanding of their disdain for him. Wage employment provides one of the best conceivable opportunities for him to learn that he is not deserving of "put down" treatment.

It is possible, however, to make a series of suggestions which will tend to reduce yet further the potential for prejudice and inter-ethnic tension both between employees in the construction camps and in the contacts that white workers may have with native people in communities. The following points are relevant.

Briefing of both white and native worker recruits on the history and culture of the other group, their values, desired personality characteristics, expectations in inter-personal relationships, expectations in regard to super-ordinate-subordinate ("boss-worker") relationships, etc. Such briefing of white workers was tried by Gulf Oil, midseason in the 1973-74 season with their drilling crews, with considerable success. Although the actual presentation was hurried, on short notice, with a hastily gathered group who had just come off shift or were about to go on shift, considerable interest was shown in the material presented. Questions were asked and answered, and a number of men always stayed on afterwards to discuss the matter after the formal session was dismissed.

It is at least as important to provide orientation sessions for native workers, as it is for white workers. It would help to forestall some of their behaviors which would spark prejudicial reactions in whites, as well as helping

them to understand and so discount white behavior which they found rude, insulting, or boorish. These orientations should perhaps be given in separate sessions to Inuit and to Indian and Metis workers, and the person giving the briefing should of course be of the same ethnicity as the group with which he is working. Some of the more effective persons to recruit to give this briefing might be successful trainees in the Nortran training program who were posted to Southern Canadian sites. The fact that they have experienced "total immersion" in a "white" work situation with white associates would, in the case of the more observant and reflective of them, give an excellent basis for "telling it as it is".

It is particularly important that white work supervisors be aware of certain aspects of native psychology, experience, and background which influence their job performance. Similarly, supervisors must be sensitive to potential language problems, even in those cases where a native apparently has a good command of English. Here the native worker may not be familiar with the slang or technical jargon that is readily understood by white workers. The Gulf employment experience suggests clearly that when working with a native work crew whose command of English is questionable, the most effective procedure is to have the crew working under a native "straw boss" speaking the same language as the rest of the crew. Where there is such a "straw boss" whose English is fluent and who is thoroughly familiar with the pattern of work being done, the performance of the work crew tends to

be above reproach.

In addition, many native workers work better when they have at least one fellow ethnic co-worker, than when they are working only with whites. This has implications for the perceptions of white workers that natives are "pulling their share", not "lazy".

Discriminatory benefits or privileges, received by natives but not whites, or vice versa, should of course be held to a minimum. But such practices may well be necessary, as when native people are permitted to miss a work rotation in order to go hunting or trapping, while whites who miss such a rotation are disciplined. Where such differentials are necessary they should be fully and carefully explained to the non-benefited group so that they do not come to see themselves as discriminated against. Lack of adequate explanation could produce prejudicial consequences.

In general, it is exceedingly important that rules be enforced as even handedly as possible across ethnic groups so that some groups are not seen as being coddled. Gulf and other oil company experience shows that older, and more traditional native workers are typically dependable in sticking by a hard, unpleasant, or tedious job in the absence of the foreman. Young acculturated native workers are much more prone in such situations to find places where they can "hide out", "goofing off" until the shift is finished. Young white workers often do the same thing, of course. The important point is that such young acculturated native workers, know

exactly what they are doing and what the consequences should be. They should therefore be handled in the same way in terms of warnings, suspensions, dismissal, as would comparable whites. I know of cases where this did not happen because the foreman felt that they should be given special treatment. The results were disastrous for both the morale and the prejudicial tendencies in the white crew members who felt that they had to work harder as a result.

As we have noted earlier, the integration of white and native workers in status equal contexts, wherein they work side by side and in time discover their common humanity, is perhaps the best technique for preventing the growth of interracial tension, or of reducing it where it already exists at a modest level. By contrast, segregation of groups is almost sure to promote misunderstanding, perceived antagonism, discriminatory treatment, and a deepening of tension.

6. Another question asked: What kind of response may be anticipated from native people to the employment opportunities which the construction phase of the pipeline will bring, and what effects will pipeline employment have on the native people who accept this employment?

A response to the first part of this question may be inferred from the responses of native people to the Alaska Pipeline in Alaska, and from the responses of the native people to employment opportunities in the Mackenzie district of the N.W.T. generally. It is apparent that there has been

considerable native interest in pipeline employment opportunities in Alaska. There has also been considerable expression of dissatisfaction with the Fairbanks-based hiring arrangements which made it very difficult for less accessably situated natives to obtain such employment. However it is particularly interesting that many natives appear to be strongly oriented toward the less highly remunerative, but nevertheless more permanent employment opportunities available with the native corporations. Thus it appears that native interest in pipeline employment in Alaska has been a critical interest, reflective of the income needs which people at least partially integrated into a monetary economy do have, but it is also reflective of their concern even in the midst of a mind-boggling boom period, to make the best long range economic provision for themselves that they can. There is no reason to think that native people in the Northwest Territories will be less responsive or less shrewd in their choice at a time when similar employment opportunities may become available to them here.

The recent employment experiences of native peoples in the N.W.T. help to round out this picture. During the past 15 or more years native people have been involved in industrial employment at Rankin Inlet and Strathcona Sound on a rather large scale, and at Lynn Lake, Yellowknife, and Pine Point, as well as other mining developments, and on the Great Slave Lake Railroad on a small scale. They have been involved in exploration employment in the Mackenzie River drainage and in

the High Arctic islands, again on a large scale. And they have been involved in industrial training in the Nortran program in rather large numbers, primarily in the South. From their response to these opportunities the following generalizations may be drawn:

(i) Many native people are strongly attracted to industrial employment opportunities, as all of the preceding examples show, even when it involves extensive dislocations such as relocation to southern Canada, as in the Nortran and the GSLRR programs or isolation from the home community for six weeks at a time, as in the construction of the Nannisivik Mine at Strathcona Sound.

(ii) However, naturally, they prefer permanent employment in their home community to seasonal employment away from home. Thus many of the seasonal workers employed in exploration ventures have quit when permanent employment at home opened up to them. The Inuit Monthly recently carried a story on opposition in Clyde River and Pond Inlet, particularly, to the six weeks of separation from home and family that employment at the Nannisivik Mine would impose.

(iii) There appears to be more enthusiasm among the Inuit, typically, than among the Dene, for such industrial employment. This is seen particularly clearly in the general disinterest in mining employment with the Yellowknife, Pine Point, and other mining developments in the southern part of the Territories, where attempts to recruit Dene workers have met with very little success.

(iv) However under certain circumstances the Dene response is much more enthusiastic. These exceptions appear to fall into two categories. The first is when the employment has a distinct and bright future, as in that offered in connection with the Nortran training program. Another example is seen in the successful recruitment of Indian workers by Gulf Minerals for their mine at Rabbit Lake, Saskatchewan. The crucial feature here appears to be that no Indians were hired for unskilled work; all were hired for training as truck drivers or mining equipment operators, or for other skilled work.

The second exception is when the employment is strictly seasonal, as in employment at the Hire North right-of-way clearance and heavy duty equipment operator training camps, and the oil exploration employment, none of which have had difficulty recruiting many Dene workers.

The implications of this for the response of native people to pipeline construction employment opportunities are that many will prefer the more permanent and/or home based employment that may well increase in availability, simultaneously. However many others will certainly be attracted to the seasonal employment, assuming that recruitment offices are quite accessable, and the red-tape involved in securing the job is minimal. It must be expected that during the first construction season a few workers will work no more than one or two rotations, a few more will work a bit longer, perhaps the modal number will work 3/5ths of the work season and a

few will work throughout the whole season -- something approaching a curve skewed toward the whole season, in brief. This expectation is based on experience from employment of workers from Inuit communities -- Coppermine, Arctic Bay, and Pond Inlet and Igloolik -- in oil exploration, and at Strathcona Sound. During the second work season the work commitment will improve noticeably, and this improvement will continue to be manifest for several years thereafter.

This prognosis is based on the assumption that the flexible policies described by Mr. Hollands will be implemented: men will be permitted to skip work rotations when they request such to hunt, or trap, or remain home when there is sickness in the family; that they will be handled gently by foremen, not brusquely or profanely, and that foremen will exercise patience in repeating instructions to native workers when necessary, and will accept mistakes as regretable, but without display of emotion, when they are committed by native workers. In the absence of this sensitive treatment, at least during the first season, the rate of quitting would be very much higher, and progress toward acquisition of a significant commitment by native workers will be delayed.

Lest it should seem that these problems of early quitting are distinctively characteristic of native workers, however, I should point out that my comparative study of native and white employees for Gulf Oil showed that quitting after a few rotations was very common among white roughnecks and roustabouts as well. No less than 39 percent of the former and

25 percent of the latter quit after working only two weeks, and 68 percent and 40 percent, respectively, worked no more than six weeks during the 1973-74 season (Hobart, 1974).

There need be no fear that the impact of wage employment will be to make "little brown white men" out of those employed. The supplemental tables and discussion which Dr. Asch presented to this Commission, which showed that the exploitation of traditional resources continues at a high level in Ft. Simpson, where there has been a great deal of wage employment available to native people for at least the past 15 or more years, makes this clear. More generally, so does the life style of many Metis semi-skilled and skilled workers who live in the population centres around Great Slave Lake -- I base this last not on a systematic survey but on many conversations which I have had with such people over the years. Similarly, the people of Coppermine watched a great deal of color television during the past winter when there was very little else to do. However with the coming of Spring and the early closing of school which was negotiated there, most of the families have gone off to their sealing and fishing camps. And although portable, battery operated T.V. sets are available at the store, apparently no one has felt the need to buy one to take out to camp. Basically, the "Frontier Culture" described by the Honigmanns is continuing to evolve, in many areas, in the direction of increasing dependence on wage employment, but with continuing dependence on fish and small and large game from the country. The dual

economy continues to persist, quite strongly.

It might be added that this pattern is not only precisely compatable with pipeline employment but in fact is ideal for permanent employment in that it provides people with intrinsic reasons for wanting to remain in the more isolated regions where much of the employment will inevitably be, rather than wanting soon to be able to move to the "bright lights" of the south, the south of the N.W.T. or the southern provinces.

7. I was asked what are the ramifications for natives if they take permanent jobs (for example, at a gas plant) that require them being away from families on a regular rotation basis?

In replying I noted that there are a number of responses that must be made to this important question. The first is that throughout virtually all of the study region such periodic interruption of family life has been a common aspect of native experience for the last 20 and more years in many cases. Men have had to leave their families to work trap lines, to go on extended hunting trips, or to accept wage employment (including, for example, fire fighting). The fact that it has been a common feature does not, of course, mean that it is a desirable feature, but it means that native peoples in the N.W.T. are at least as well prepared for it as are white families in Southern Canada who themselves experience this in a small proportion of cases. The student of comparative family systems must argue that the native family, in most

cases, is better prepared to cope effectively with the absence of the father than are white families. The greater solidarity of the small settlements in which most native people live, and the extent to which the extended family persists and comes to the assistance of its individual members, means that the resources available to the native nuclear family for coping effectively with the absence of the father are greater than are the resources available to the Southern Canadian white family in similar circumstances.

I must add that, perhaps for a variety of reasons, the initial tolerance of younger native men for this kind of family separation appears to be distinctly less than is the tolerance of the middle-aged man, whose attitude is that they must "toughen it out", according to the experience of Gulf and Pan Arctic in employing Inuit. It is to be expected that as native people become more acculturated to Southern Canadian attitudes and living patterns, they would express many of the same reluctances as young Southern Canadian men would if faced with the same alternatives. In fact the very high turnover rates among young white workers in certain categories of employment which we established among those working in oil exploration for Gulf Oil during the 1973-74 season, noted earlier, is a case in point (Hobart, 1974).

Perhaps the main point to be emphasized is that younger Northern native workers increasingly have the same kinds of ambivalent, if not distasteful, reactions of rotation work schedules that most young married Southern Canadians would

have. Accordingly where natives are interested in, and willing to accept such employment on an operating gas line, they should be accustomed to it gradually. The company should be prepared, during a breaking-in period, to accept some irregularity and undependability (which is not tolerated in experienced Southern Canadian workers) even at the price of some redundancy in its work force. This would give the new native employee time to adapt and to become socialized to the restrictions as well as the advantages of this position. However, the expectations regarding his dependability should be steadily and gradually upgraded so thatby the end of an adequate adjustment period, perhaps one year or 18 months, he would be expected to meet prevailing standards.

In addition to responding to these questions I pointed out to Canadian Arctic Gas that there would be some important sociological and social psychological consequences for native people, devolving from pipeline or other large scale employment opportunities which I felt should be recognized.

The sociological consequences would include consequences for the social structures of communities, bands, etc., the stratificational or prestige systems, the cultural heritage,

values, norms, etc. The soical psychological consequences would be the consequences for self-concept, sense of identity, motivation, and morale of the people affected.

In regard to Social Structure: It seems apparent that the general policy of the Federal government is development oriented, generally, irrespective of whether the pipeline is built or not. The native people are obviously happy to take advantage of the resulting employment opportunities -- Ft. Wrigley people working on the Mackenzie Highway, Coppermine people employed by Gulf Oil, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay people employed by Pan Arctic Oil, and Igloolik people employed at Strathcona Sound are all relevant examples of this fact. Thus the social structures in many communities -- the economic system of the community and how this interrelates with the family, education, social control, recreation, health, religion, etc. -- are already in the process of massive change. Much of this change, as we have noted earlier, has been unmistakably welcomed by the native people affected. I must confess it seems rather presumptuous to me for whites to tell them what they should or should not want for themselves, for their communities and for their children, as some of those who have testified seemed to do.

In regard to Stratificational or Prestige Systems: Again it is apparent that massive changes are underway in this aspect of Northern communities and bands. A major influence is the great changes in economic opportunities, which tend to substitute new for old sources of status, and gener-

ally downgrade the mature and the elderly, who traditionally held high status and upgrade the young and the sophisticated. The income and opportunity inputs from development activities are substantially responsible for these changes. However, there are other significant influences as well. One example would be the Native Brotherhood, which has tended to some extent to undercut the Band Chiefs and Band Councils, whose authority is more (though certainly not completely) traditionally based, and increase the influence and the prestige of the young people who have left the community for a time.

In regard to culture, values, norms, the relevant discussion has been largely developed above. In most areas of the Mackenzie drainage, the traditional culture, values and norms have already been displaced to a great extent (Van Stone, 1965; Honigmann and Honigmann, 1970). The exclusive impact of the schools, up until the late 1960's and their overwhelming impact, since then, has been to displace the traditional culture with a Southern cultural orientation in classroom students as I have noted earlier (Hobart and Brant, 1966). The impact of paid employment on the worker is always to some extent in this direction as well. The only alternative to this would be to try to maintain Northern peoples and Northern communities as some kind of "museum piece", and no one wants that, although some of the testimony before this Commission has come dangerously close to advocating this retrograde position, I fear. The relevant argument is surely that Northern peoples should have a strong voice in the course

of development that their social structures and their cultures take. It is noteworthy that the pipeline proposals, and the ensuing discussions have greatly facilitated this. This has been dramatically illustrated during the course of the Hearings of this Commission.

There are some significant social psychological consequences of construction of the pipeline as well. In regard to the self-concept, there can be no doubt that one of the consequences of the protectionist and welfare emphasizing programs of the Governments for the native people has to impair their self-concept, to imply and even emphasize their ineffectiveness and inability to cope with the circumstances that beset them, their almost child-like need for white professional caretakers, to teach them as one old Inuk man put it to me bluntly twelve years ago "White man good, Eskimo no good". As another Inuk said "In the old days the big people used to sit around and talk, and the children would gather around and listen. Now, when the children return from boarding school, the children sit around and talk and the big people gather around and listen."

Thus, people who were once proudly independent and self-sufficient have to a great extent been made to feel ineffective and dependent -- the price for saving the lives of very many people who otherwise would have died of disease, starvation, accidents, etc. The point is that the white contact, and the government programs have already ravaged the self-concepts of most native people. The pipeline can do little

damage not already done. But a further aspect of the recent history of the North has been the impossibility of escape from dependency and welfare. There were far too few jobs in many areas and hunting, fishing, and trapping could not, under conditions of settlement living, provide support for a family throughout the year. Thus the prospects that the pipeline provides for substantial employment into the indefinite future is the most important current prospect for salvaging the self-concepts of native people. It should provide the opportunity for the native to become reasonably prosperously self-sufficient, and to prove to all that with comparable training he is just as good as the white, and as my Gulf research shows, that in the North he is better.

In regard to the sense of identity, many of the points discussed above are relevant here as well. The destruction of the traditional life styles of the native people has discredited and invalidated the senses of identity that were associated with and appropriate to those life styles. The identities associated with dependency and welfarization have inevitably been negative identities, as have the prejudicial self-designations acquired by native children in white dominated schools (King, 1967; Koster, 1972). Adequate work, which is well paid and at which one can excel provided by the pipeline and the opportunity to fully participate in many related developments, and control of substantial resources developments to establish enterprises which will be made more lucrative by the pipeline -- these offer the best prospects

to facilitate native identification with new identities, which are prideful and relevant to the world in which native people must live today.

In regard to motivation and morale, it must be noted that dependency, and the lack of opportunities to act consequentially and to work are of course massively destructive of motivation and morale as numerous studies of the social psychological effects of the Great Depression have demonstrated. This has been the situation of very many native people in the North between 1950 to 1970, and for many it yet is. The most effective antedotes to low motivation and morale, are to make rewarding opportunities to work, opportunities for prospects extending beyond tomorrow, available to them. Given the relative over-population of many areas by native peoples now, and their continuing high rates of natural increase, the motivation and morale of many natives must continue to deteriorate, unless massive new opportunities open up. Again the relevant and currently unsurpassed promise of the pipeline is apparent.

In summary, in regard to virtually all of the above points, the conclusion must be that the damage has already been done, and/or is perpetuated and deepened by dependency, welfarization and the lack of opportunities for employment and opportunities to act independently, self-sufficiently and consequentially. The pipeline would make massively available this variety of opportunities. These latter problems are made yet more serious by the population explosion among native

people in recent years which is producing larger native populations than were ever before able to live off the land in the area of the Northwest Territories. That about half of the current native population is no more than 15 years of age, and typically little trained in the skills required to live off the land, and with little interest in the life style that that presumes, as Smith's research shows, deepens the current difficulty. However it also points to the obvious solution, in terms of development which would support the rapidly growing population, and use the skills and dispositions which increasing numbers of people, especially young people, are acquiring.

The beauty of the situation is that of course there is no need to opt for an either-or choice. In the Territories today it is possible to "have your cake and eat it to", to simultaneously provide for increased development and increased utilization of the renewable resources of the land. The fact that the in-gathering of the Dene and the Inuit to the settlements has recently depopulated large areas means that return to increased living off the land is possible for those who would prefer it. The recent resurgence of interest in satelite communities out on the tundra or in the bush suggests current and relevant ways in which such back to the land interests may be best implemented. But development is also clearly needed to permit the many native people, who would prefer a more wage and salary oriented life style which involves easy access to the land and to the bounty of fish

and game that the land offers, to enjoy this way of living as well.

The dilemma, and the opportunity which confronts this Commission is to attempt to insure that opportunities for living on the land, and for development are both safeguarded, and that the safeguards of each do not undercut the viability of the other.

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